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Spanish government, but because, with the fate of Hayti and San Domingo before their eyes, they have a profound distrust of the civic ability and disinterested public spirit of the leaders of the guerilla force which has succeeded since 1895 in holding the Spanish army at bay. Like the Afghans, the Cuban guerillas have proved themselves to be splendid fighters; but like the Afghans, they may be entirely wanting in the qualities needed to carry on a democratic form of government. If Cuba is to be independent, she should be so by the free wish of a majority of her people, and in the absence of that popular mandate, we cannot afford to play the part of the tyrant, and, possibly, force the great majority of her people into a form of government to which they are thoroughly opposed.

"In the case of the Maine, which is looked upon both at Washington and elsewhere as our strongest issue, what have we to fight about? Our adversary comes to us, and says: 'I will make any reparation for my responsibility in this matter that any impartial tribunal shall consider adequate.' What more can Spain do than this? One feels as if one were addressing a tribe of thin Indians in assuming that such a proposition would not be accepted. What does its repudiation and a declaration of war on the basis of 'remember the Maine' imply? Neither more nor less than that the boasted humanity and civilization of the American people is simply a thin veneer; that, in spite of education and religious training, we still cherish the savage instincts of our prehistoric forefathers; that with us a bloody feud is to be cherished and developed, no matter how contrite and submissive our adversary may be, until each life that we have lost has been paid for and avenged by the destruction of ten, twenty or one hundred of the lives of innocent men, who to our frenzied imagination represent the enemy. This is maintaining national honor! This is exhibiting to the world an heroic determination, and this is what it is proposed to substitute for the policy which President McKinley has laid down! If this murderous method is adopted, it will imply a moral debauch on the part of the American people which will leave its stain upon their national record through the lives of all those who are now numbered as American citizens."

A Peaceful Settlement with Spain.

BY JOSIAH W. LEEDS.

Deploring the present tendency of her sex "to rush in and compete with men in all professions and avenues of business," the poetess, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, is reported as saying that, as a corrective of this condition, she does "not know of anything that would be as wholesome as war. A war would put the masculine woman in the background, and would once more imbue the men of the nation with that virility that they seem so much in danger of losing. A nation can go to seed by becoming too gentle. A war therefore would bring about a needed reorganization of society."

Unfortunately, we tried this business — this wrong way of disposing of a difficulty — over thirty years ago, with quite the contrary of a beneficent effect on society. A variety of things did go to seed, and have we not these years been reaping a sorry harvest of intemperance, covetousness, impurity, venality in many shapes, marital divorce, love of sport, Sabbath breaking and many other

evils that war against the soul? Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, the well-known writer, taking a very different view of the calamity of a war, has just made the following public protest:

"What a spectacle! A Christian Nation threatening to declare war, unnecessary, unjustifiable, unrighteous war, on Holy Week, and plotting butchery on Easter Day. The veriest Furioso in Congress must hang his head before this shameful and untimely sight. We have a Christian statesman at the head of our Government. Extend to him at least the simple courtesy yielded in the commonest commercial transactions. Grant the President thirty days to meet the call of the crisis. He will settle this trouble without slaughter. Give him a chance. Let him have time to save us from a national blunder and disgrace which history would never forget to record against us."

Hannah J. Bailey, National Superintendent of the Department of Peace and Arbitration of the W. C. T. U., has earnestly appealed for a peaceful settlement of our controversy with Spain. Ella P. Martin, of West Grove, President of the W. C. T. U. of Chester county, in a private letter says:

"It is well known that our organization stands for peace, and nothing short of a memorial from the fountain head (the National officers) would avail much at this crisis I think, while it would be in accord for each and all to lift their hearts in prayer at home that our leaders may have the wisdom of many."

Bishop Potter, of New York, in a sermon referring to the crisis, the President's position of righteous restraint, and what ought to be ours, said:

"To-day he stands for that for which, as an ambassador of the Prince of Peace, it is my duty to plead — a peaceful settlement of the difficulties which are to-day confronting us. Over against him there are others who are clamoring for war: I presume that every criminal, every inmate of a jail or prison, every lounge in a bar-room, every one of that evil brood that haunts dark places and plans dark deeds, is with such. Are you? Where ought a God-fearing people to stand to-day? What are you saying to your representatives in Congress, beset as they are by noisy agitators and by men of sordid motives, or by partisans eager to magnify a quarrel with another nation into a ground for a foolish and unnecessary war, and to make partisan capital out of their clamor for blood? Some of these representatives are telling us of what they have heard from their constituents. What have they heard from you? Do you honestly believe that at this hour there is any wrong that may not be righted, any oppressed people that may not be speedily fed and succored, without our flying at the throats of those with whom to-day we have a controversy, like so many bullies in a prize-ring?"

Dr. Greer, also of New York, in concluding a fervent discourse on the same theme as the above, and our duty to sustain the President in his stand for peace, said:

"Such a man, I say, is needed now. Such a man, I hope, I think, we have; who, with a lively sense of the responsibility, grave and awful, that is placed on him, is doing what he can — God in heaven help him. May all the people help him to minister unto peace and to stay the plague and stop the scourge of war!"

Dr. Joseph Silverman, in the Temple Emmanuel, New

York, having spoken of the sentiment of honor contended for in this controversy, and of those other things at stake, as humanity, prosperity, human lives, liberty and justice, added :

"Can we contend for these higher ends without resort to arms, without the shedding of blood? The trial is hard. We cry 'Peace! Peace!' but there is no peace. The beat of the drum is heard, and there stand the cannon ready to bombard. Still we do not give up the hope and the prayer for peace. Let the nations of the world intercede; let us call for arbitration. Let America set the example. Now is the great opportunity to illustrate the value of arbitration. Let a great royal court be called of the important military Powers of the world, and let all questions in dispute be submitted. It may take months to determine the result. In the mean time let there be a truce, and all the ends of justice and humanity will be served. Let America and Spain arbitrate their differences, and, as God lives, I believe the same ends that are now sought by war will be gained by honor and peace."

Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, speaking at Boston, thus certifies to a few of the deterrent things that must make up the cost of finishing this dispute in the barbarous old way :

"First, let us realize what war is. 'War is hell.' That is the word not of a Quaker, but of a great and brave general who knew war. War brings with it the unloosing of the passions of men, vengeance, hatred, deceit, plunder, slaughter, fire and sword, the groans of the wounded, the widow and the fatherless, poverty, wealth by gambling and stealing, demoralization in high places, taxation of the poor, neglect by thousands of the arts of peace, the glorification of the savageries of war. There will be heroism and sacrifice, but at what cost of National character."

Shall we listen to responsible testimony bearers such as these, or to rabid jingoes, and to the 'yellow journals' which exploit prize fighting in times of peace, and cry out for honor, power and glory at prospect of war with another nation? — *Chester County (Pa.) Times*.

Why Senator Hoar Voted Against Recognizing the Cuban Republic.

During the debate in the Senate on April 17, Senator Hoar gave the following statement of the reasons why he could not vote for the resolution recognizing the independence of the so-called Cuban republic :

MR. HOAR : "Mr. President, I cannot give my vote for this resolution upon its final passage, for several reasons, which I desire to state.

"First, it contains an affirmation contrary to the fact when it affirms that the republic of Cuba is now free and independent, in the face of what I conceive to be the fact, in the face of the declaration, as I understand it, of the person high in command in the troops of the insurgents, who has declared he could prolong the struggle to obtain that independence for twelve years.

"Second, it undertakes to take from the executive his constitutional power — a power affirmed by every executive from the beginning, a power affirmed by our great authorities on constitutional law from Alexander Hamilton down to the senior senator from Alabama (Mr. Morgan), who, within three years, and I think also within three hours, has strongly reaffirmed that that power be-

longs to the executive, and cannot be constitutionally exercised by Congress."

MR. MORGAN : "The senator from Massachusetts is mistaken in quoting me. I do not care about correcting it now, but at a later day in the session I will try to point out to the senator, as I have done heretofore, that he mistakes my statement on the subject."

MR. HOAR : "Very well. I have read in the Record within a short time a declaration of the senator from Alabama which I so understand. Well, whether I am mistaken in imputing this particular opinion to my honorable friend or not, I am not mistaken in saying that he is a high authority on constitutional law, and in coupling his name with that of Alexander Hamilton as entitled to the respect of his countrymen I hope he will not rise to correct me again.

"Mr. President, I cannot vote for the joint resolution because it introduces, and I believe was meant to introduce, discord and divided counsels in what ought to be the act of a united country.

"I cannot vote for it, because it undertakes to direct, contrary to all our legislative precedents, a co-ordinate branch of the government, the executive, ordering him to proceed at once, when his constitutional and legal duties are defined by the constitution, and not by the law-making power.

"I cannot vote for it because it is contrary to the courtesies which prevail between the legislative and executive, and undertakes to take from the discretion of the executive what ought to belong to him under the constitution itself.

"I will not vote for it, because, if it pass, and the government of Cuba be now free and independent, the forces of the army of the United States on Cuban land and the navy of the United States in Cuban waters must be under the command of the insurgent leader, or their presence there is a war against him.

"Gentlemen have tried, by refined and deluding arguments, to torture a sentence of the President of the United States, separated from its context, into a suggestion that possibly he might be expecting to make war upon these insurgents. And yet — you cannot escape from it — you are undertaking, in your eager passion, to do something which will be unpleasant to those of your associates who support the President.

"You are making an affirmation, I repeat, which will put the army and the navy of the United States under the command of Maximo Gomez the moment they get into Cuban waters or on to Cuban soil, or their presence there is war upon the recognized and established government of the country which you say is his.

"I will not vote for it because it violates international law, and thereby in this great transaction sets the sympathy of the nations of the world against us.

"Mr. President, I am not alarmed or disturbed because in the vote I am about to give I am to encounter the dissent of an excited, inflated and angered majority. I am old enough to remember another transaction to which this is a parallel :

"In the beginning of the Mexican war, a war in regard to which the feeling of the people of the United States was deeply stirred, it was attempted to coerce the minority in the two Houses of Congress by putting into the law which provided for raising troops, and supplying them, a preamble, 'Whereas, war exists by the act of Mexico,'